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"THE NATURE OF THE STRUGGLE HAS CHANGED"

A Suggested Speech

for

VICE PRESIDENT GERALD FORD

to deliver during the

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

July 29, 1974

San Francisco, California

written by

ARTHUR A. FLETCHER

Consultant, Republican National Committee



I ~~DO~~ THANK YOU LADIES AND GENTLEMEN FOR THE INVITATION. LET ME COMMEND YOU MR. JORDAN FOR BRINGING WHO'S WHO IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS COMMUNITY TOGETHER FOR THIS THE 64TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE. I NOTICED THAT YOUR PROGRAM INCLUDES SUCH NOTABLES AS THE REV. JESSE JACKSON; JOHN POWELL, CHAIRMAN OF THE EEOC AND CALIFORNIA CONGRESSWOMAN YVONNE BRAITHWAITE BURKE.

AS I LOOKED FORWARD TO MAKING THIS APPEARANCE, AND INSTRUCTED MY STAFF WRITER TO GATHER MATERIAL FOR THIS SPEECH, MY MIND WONDERED BACK TO THE YEAR 1950 AND THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRD QUARTER OF THIS CENTURY. I HAD JUST COMPLETED MY FIRST TERM AS THE CONGRESSMAN FROM MICHIGAN'S FIFTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT AND WAS GETTING READY FOR THE FORTHCOMING FALL ELECTION CAMPAIGN. LITTLE DID I KNOW AT THAT TIME THAT ONE DAY I WOULD BE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND CALLED UPON TO SPEAK AT THIS OR ANY OTHER MAJOR NATIONAL CONVENTION. IN FACT I FELT LUCKY, FORTUNATE TO SAY THE LEAST, TO BE ELECTED TO THE CONGRESS AT SUCH A YOUNG AND TENDER AGE. AT THE TIME I FELT I HAD ARRIVED AND WAS HOLDING THE MOST IMPORTANT POLITICAL POST I WOULD EVER BE CALLED UPON TO FILL.

BACK IN 1950, THE URBAN LEAGUE HAD BEEN IN EXISTENCE SOME FORTY YEARS AND WAS

STRUGGLING UNDER THE MASTERFUL LEADERSHIP OF MR. LESTER GRANGER TO MAKE A DENT ON THE NATIONAL CONSCIOUS. THE LATE, GREAT WHITNEY YOUNG WAS MANAGING A LOCAL URBAN LEAGUE CHAPTER IN THE MIDWEST, LEARNING THE ROPES, SHARPENING HIS LEADERSHIP SKILL AND PREPARING HIMSELF FOR THE BRILLIANT CAREER HE WAS TO ENTER AND THE PHENOMENAL EXPANSION THE LEAGUE WAS TO EXPERIENCE UNDER HIS LEADERSHIP.

I AM SURE THAT ALTHOUGH MR. GRANGER HAD A VISION, A DREAM OF THE DAY THE URBAN LEAGUE WOULD BECOME A POTENT NATIONAL FORCE AND PLAY A LEADING ROLE IN THE CONTINUING REFORM MOVEMENT THAT IS PART AND PARCEL OF THE AMERICAN FORM OF DEMOCRACY, LITTLE DID HE KNOW THAT HE WOULD LIVE LONG ENOUGH TO SEE IT ALL HAPPEN.

YES, A GREAT DEAL HAS HAPPENED TO THIS COUNTRY, ITS PEOPLE, ITS ORGANIZATIONS, ITS CULTURE AND ITS SOCIETY DURING THE THIRD QUARTER OF THIS CENTURY. THERE IS ALREADY A VAST DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF THE 1950's AND THE ONE THAT WILL EXIST IN 1975. THE URBAN LEAGUE HAD MUCH TO DO - DID MORE THAN ITS FAIR SHARE IN FACT - TO BRING ABOUT THE CHANGES FOR THE BETTER THAT ALL RIGHT THINKING AMERICANS ARE PROUD OF. SO MUCH SO THAT THE NATURE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE HAS CHANGED AND WITH IT HAS COME A HIGHER LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS, IMPROVED OPPORTUNITIES, NEW AND DIFFERENT CHALLENGES AND CHANGING EXPECTATIONS WITH REGARD TO THE PARTICIPATION OF MINORITIES AND WOMEN IN THE GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMIC ARENA.

THE LEAGUE AND ITS SUPPORTERS ARE TO BE COMMENDED FOR THE CONTRIBUTIONS YOU HAVE MADE IN BEHALF OF THIS COUNTRY AND ALL ITS CITIZENS. THIS IS ESPECIALLY TRUE WITH REFERENCE TO ITS NON-WHITE CITIZENS.

AT THE TIME OF MY CONFIRMATION HEARINGS I FELT THE THRUST OF THE CHANGE THAT HAS OCCURED WHEN A CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER WAS HEARD TO SAY, "YOU CAN PUT ALL THE BLACK AND BROWN FOLKS JERRY FORD KNOWS IN THE TRUNK OF A PINTO AND STILL HAVE ROOM FOR THE GOP ELEPHANT". THAT OF COURSE IS AN EXAGGERATION BUT I UNDERSTOOD THE THRUST OF HIS COMMENT AND THE REASON FOR HIS ANXIETIES. ^{In addition} AND WHEN SUCH MEN OF STATURE AS CLARENCE MITCHELL, ROY WILKINS, VERNON JORDAN AND JESSE JACKSON SPOKE OUT AGAINST MY

CONFIRMATION FOR VICE PRESIDENT AND FURTHER WHEN ALL BUT ONE OF THE BLACK CAUCUS MEMBERS VOTED AGAINST ME, I THOROUGHLY REALIZED THE IMPACT OF BOTH THE CHANGE AND EXPECTATIONS ON THE PART OF MINORITIES. LET ME ASSURE YOU THAT DURING MY CONFIRMATION HEARINGS MINORITIES PUT ME ON NOTICE OF THEIR CONCERNS.

ALTHOUGH NOT WHAT YOU WOULD LIKE IT TO BE, MY CIVIL RIGHTS RECORD IS ANYTHING BUT NEGATIVE AND IT IS A LONG, LONG WAY FROM STANDING IN THE DOORWAY OF A SCHOOLHOUSE IN DEFIANCE OF A FEDERAL COURT ORDER IN AN ATTEMPT TO DENY BLACK CHILDREN A QUALITY EDUCATION. THEREFORE I AM PROUD OF MY RECORD IN THIS AREA. IN ADDITION, I CAN SAY THAT SINCE I BECAME YOUR VICE PRESIDENT I HAVE SINCERELY TRIED TO BE VICE PRESIDENT OF ALL OF THE PEOPLE.

LET ME PAUSE AND STATE HERE AND NOW THAT MY FIRST WHITE HOUSE LUNCHEON WAS WITH TOP BLACK PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTEES. IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THAT, I MET WITH A GROUP OF NATIONAL CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS HEADED BY ROY WILKINS, THE DEAN OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. ONE OF MY FIRST PUBLIC APPEARANCES WAS BEFORE A GROUP OF 700 BLACK REPUBLICANS FROM THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY WHO ATTENDED THE LINCOLN DAY DINNER SPONSORED BY THE CAPITOL CITY REPUBLICAN CLUB IN THE NATION'S CAPITOL. I HAVE ALSO SPOKEN BEFORE THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BLACK MANUFACTURERS, THE LINKS INC. AND THE OPPORTUNITIES INDUSTRIALIZATION CENTERS AND EARLIER THIS MONTH I SPOKE BEFORE THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN. ALSO I HAVE TOURED THE BEDFORD -STUYVESANT AREA OF HARLEM AND ON AUGUST 9, I WILL OFFICIATE AT A RIBBON CUTTING AND GROUND BREAKING CEREMONY AT A HOUSING PROJECT IN THE WATTS AREA OF LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA.

ALTHOUGH THESE COMMENTS MAY APPEAR SELF SERVING, THEY ARE FACTS NEVERTHELESS. I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT MY DOOR IS OPEN AND THAT I HAVE INSTRUCTED MY STAFF TO USE THE FULL RANGE OF DIRECT AUTHORITY VESTED IN THE VICE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE, LITTLE THOUGH IT IS, IN AN ATTEMPT TO BE AS COOPERATIVE AND AS HELPFUL AS POSSIBLE

YOUR PROGRAM AGENDA

IN GLANCING OVER YOUR PROGRAM I NOTICED THAT THE THEME OF THE CONFERENCE IS "FULL EMPLOYMENT AS A NATIONAL GOAL". BESIDES A DISCUSSION ON EMPLOYMENT, I NOTICED SEVERAL OTHER IMPORTANT ISSUES TO BE DISCUSSED INCLUDING, "POLITICS 1974".

ALTHOUGH EACH OF THE ISSUES TO BE DISCUSSED IS WORTHY OF COMMENT, I AM GOING



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TO LIMIT MY REMARKS TO POLITICS AND EMPLOYMENT, IN THAT ORDER. I AM GOING TO MAKE A FEW GENERAL COMMENTS ABOUT POLITICS FIRST BECAUSE I FEEL THAT THE SUCCESS THE LEAGUE ENJOYS TODAY AND THE PROGRESS YOU HOPE TO MAKE IN THE FUTURE WILL REST ON THE ABILITY OF BLACKS AND OTHER NON-WHITE POLITICAL LEADERS TO BECOME SUCCESSFUL, PRAGMATIC POLITICIANS.

NATIONAL POLICY, DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN, IS MADE BY ELECTED POLITICAL OFFICIALS AND CARRIED OUT BY POLITICAL APPOINTEES. IF WHAT YOU DO AT THIS CONFERENCE IS TO BE OF ANY LASTING VALUE IT WILL BE BECAUSE ELECTED OFFICIALS IN THE HALLS OF THE CONGRESS, THE STATE LEGISLATURES, COUNTY COMMISSIONERS AND CITY COUNCIL CHAMBERS WILL TAKE UP YOUR CAUSE. THEY WILL ENGAGE IN PUBLIC DEBATE SETTING FORTH YOUR POSITION WHERE A CLASH OF IDEAS AND IDEALS WILL OCCUR. THIS WILL RESULT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF WORKABLE SOLUTIONS THAT WILL BE LEGISLATED INTO LAW.

I THINK POLITICS HOLDS OUT BOTH THE CHALLENGE AND THE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE PROGRESS BECAUSE AMONG OTHER THINGS, THE INTEREST OF BLACKS, BROWNS AND WOMEN ARE NO LONGER BEING REPRESENTED BY PROXY. BY THIS I MEAN THE MINORITY COMMUNITY IS SENDING FORTH ITS OWN REPRESENTATIVES TO CONGRESS, TO STATEWIDE OFFICES, STATE LEGISLATORS, TO MAYORS OFFICES AND TO OTHER CITY AND COUNTY ELECTIVE POSITIONS.

THE RECORD SHOWS THAT THERE ARE SIXTEEN BLACK UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVES AND ONE UNITED STATES SENATOR. THERE ARE SOME 236 BLACK STATE LEGISLATORS AND 108 BLACK MAYORS PLUS 62 VICE MAYORS. ALSO THERE ARE SOME 76 SPANISH SURNAMED FEDERAL AND STATE LEGISLATORS. IN ADDITION, WOMEN ELECTED OFFICIALS HAVE MADE SIGNIFICANT STRIDES AT NATIONAL, STATE AND LOCAL LEVELS. SOME 3,000 WOMEN WERE RECENTLY REPORTED TO BE CANDIDATES FOR UPCOMING ELECTIONS.

IN SOME INSTANCES, THE CHAIRMAN OF SOME OF THE MOST IMPORTANT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEES IN BOTH HOUSES OF THE VARIOUS STATE LEGISLATURES ARE MINORITIES AND WOMEN. FOR INSTANCE BLACKS HOLD THE FOLLOWING KEY POSITIONS: S. HOWARD WOODSON IS SPEAKER OF THE ASSEMBLY IN THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY; STATE SENATOR LEROY JOHNSON OF GEORGIA IS CHAIRMAN OF THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE; LEON THOMPSON IS MINORITY LEADER

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN THE STATE OF ARIZONA; ARRIS T. ALLEN IS MINORITY LEADER IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN THE STATE OF MARYLAND AND CORNEAL DAVIS IS ASSISTANT MINORITY LEADER IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN THE STATE OF ILLINOIS. MY OWN NATIVE STATE, MICHIGAN HAS THE LARGEST NUMBER OF BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS OF ANY STATE IN THE U. S. WITH A TOTAL OF 194. THE ABOVE FIGURES AND INFORMATION ON ELECTED OFFICIALS WERE RECENTLY RELEASED BY THE JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES, A WASHINGTON, D. C. BASED ORGANIZATION WHICH PROVIDES INFORMATION FOR THE NATION'S MINORITY ELECTED OFFICIALS.

I HAVE NOT TOUCHED UPON THE IMPORTANT APPOINTIVE OFFICES THAT BLACKS AND WOMEN AND OTHER MINORITIES ARE HOLDING AT ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT: FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL WHICH IS ALSO SIGNIFICANT. FOR EXAMPLE, IN THE FIRST NIXON ADMINISTRATION THERE WERE EIGHT SUB-CABINET OR SENIOR EXECUTIVE APPOINTMENTS MADE BY PRESIDENT NIXON THAT HAD TO BE CONFIRMED BY THE UNITED STATES SENATE. INCIDENTALLY, WHEN AN INDIVIDUAL HAS TO BE CONFIRMED BY THE SENATE IT MEANS, AMONG OTHER THINGS THAT INDIVIDUAL HAS POLICY-MAKING AND REGULATORY AUTHORITY AND IN SOME INSTANCES A MULTI-MILLION DOLLAR BUDGET UNDER HIS OR HER CONTROL.

FOR EXAMPLE WHEN JIM FARMER WAS SERVING AS THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR ADMINISTRATION AT THE U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE, THE STATUTE REQUIRED THAT HE SIGN OFF ON ALL MONIES SPENT AT HEW. THAT AGENCY INCIDENTALLY HAS THE SECOND LARGEST BUDGET IN GOVERNMENT. DURING THE TIME FARMER WAS THERE IT WAS MORE THAN \$60 BILLION.

SINCE YOU WILL BE TALKING ABOUT EMPLOYMENT, WE CAN TURN TO THE LABOR DEPARTMENT WHERE ART. FLETCHER WERVED AS THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR EMPLOYMENT STANDARDS AND WHERE HE STARTED THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT ENFORCEMENT REVOLUTION WITH THE ISSUANCE OF THE PHILADELPHIA PLAN AND ORDER NO. 4. THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ISSUED LEGALLY BINDING STANDARDS THAT DEFINED EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION. MANY OF THE RECENT MULTI-MILLION DOLLAR SETTLEMENTS THAT INDUSTRY IS NOW PAYING FOR HAVING DISCRIMINATED AGAINST MINORITIES AND WOMEN IS A DIRECT RESULT OF THE FACT THAT THE COURTS RULED THAT THE PHILADELPHIA PLAN AND ORDER NO. 4 WAS LEGAL AND A FIT AND PROPER WAY TO ACHIEVE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT.

(NOTE: VP FORD EXPLAINS HIS ROLE IN SUPPORT OF THE PHILADELPHIA PLAN HERE.)

ANOTHER INDIVIDUAL WHO SERVED DURING PRESIDENT NIXON'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION IS SAM JACKSON WHO WAS GENERAL ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT. JACKSON HAD SIGN OFF AUTHORITIES ON \$2 BILLION ON SPECIFIC URBAN AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT FUNDS ALONE AND GENERAL SIGN OFF AUTHORITIES ON PRACTICALLY ALL MONIES EXPENDED BY THE DEPARTMENT.

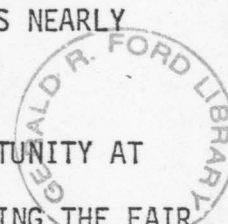
IN THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION THERE IS NORMAN B. HOUSTON, AN APPOINTED MEMBER OF THE RENEGOTIATION BOARD WHICH IS THE FEDERAL AGENCY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ELIMINATION OF EXCESSIVE PROFITS ON DEFENSE AND SPACE CONTRACTS AND RELATED SUBCONTRACTS.

JOHN H. POWELL JR. IS CHAIRMAN OF THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION. POWELL IS IN CHARGE OF NEARLY 2000 EMPLOYEES IN 32 DISTRICT OFFICES, 7 REGIONAL OFFICES AND 5 LITIGATION CENTERS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY AND HIS BUDGET FOR THE FISCAL YEAR JUST ENDED WAS \$43 MILLION.

SAMUEL C. ADAMS, JR. IS ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR FOR AFRICA AT THE U. S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE'S AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT. SAM ADAMS HEADS AN A.I.D. PROGRAM FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS OF AFRICA WHICH HAS AMOUNTED TO ABOUT \$170 MILLION ANNUALLY IN RECENT YEARS. THERE ARE MORE THAN 450 EMPLOYEES IN BOTH THE WASHINGTON, D. C. AND OVERSEAS STAFF OF THE BUREAU FOR AFRICA.

CONSTANCE (CONNIE) NEWMAN IS ONE OF FOUR COMMISSIONERS WITH THE CONSUMER PRODUCT SAFETY COMMISSION, ESTABLISHED LAST YEAR. THE COMMISSION ESTIMATES EXPENDITURES OF \$30.9 MILLION DURING ITS FIRST YEAR OF OPERATION AND HAS NEARLY 900 EMPLOYEES.

DR. GLORIA E. A. TOOTE WHO IS ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AT THE DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING & URBAN DEVELOPMENT IS RESPONSIBLE FOR ENFORCING THE FAIR HOUSING LAW THROUGHOUT THE NATION, NOT ONLY FOR HUD BUT FOR ALL HOUSING. DR. TOOTE IS ALSO THE CONTRACT COMPLIANCE OFFICER FOR HUD WHICH LETS OVER \$5 BILLION WORTH OF CONTRACTS.

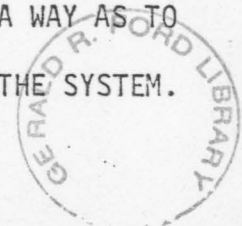


BENJAMIN O. DAVIS, JR. IS ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR ENVIRONMENT, SAFETY AND CONSUMER AFFAIRS AT THE DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION AND EXERCISES EXECUTIVE DIRECTION OVER THE SEVEN DIFFERENT OFFICES INCLUDING SAFETY AFFAIRS AND ENVIRONMENTAL AFFAIRS. HE IS ALSO CHIEF OF THE FEDERAL ANTI-SKYJACK PROGRAM.

STANLEY B. THOMAS, JR., AS ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE OVERSEES A BUDGET OF \$800 BILLION AND A STAFF OF 932 PEOPLE IN WASHINGTON, D. C. AND IN TEN REGIONAL OFFICES OF HEW.

I CITE THESE INDIVIDUALS BECAUSE OF THE ATTITUDE OF MANY, BOTH BLACK AND WHITE, AND POSSIBLY A MAJORITY OF BLACKS, THAT ANY APPOINTMENT IN THIS OR ANY OTHER ADMINISTRATION IS "TOKENISM".

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, WHEN A BLACK PERSON SUCH AS NORMAN B. HOUSTON SITS ON THE RENEGOTIATIONS BOARD AND HELPS DECIDE HOW MUCH MONEY A MAJOR GOVERNMENT CONTRACTOR CAN MAKE, THAT ISN'T TOKENISM, THAT'S MAINSTREAM AMERICA. WHEN JOHN POWELL, CHAIRMAN OF EEOC, TAKES OVER AND MANAGES A REGULATORY AGENCY THAT CAN FORCE MAJOR AMERICAN EMPLOYERS TO PAY MILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN BACK PAY AND OTHER MONEY DAMAGES FOR DISCRIMINATING AGAINST MINORITIES, THAT ISN'T TOKENISM, THAT'S MAINSTREAM AMERICA. WHEN ASSISTANT SECRETARY STANLEY THOMAS OF HEW IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE EXPENDITURES OF \$700 MILLION, THAT ISN'T TOKENISM, THAT TOO IS MAINSTREAM AMERICA. I COULD GO ON AND ON AND CITE A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF OTHER APPOINTMENTS IN WHICH BLACKS AND OTHER MINORITIES HAVE DISCRETIONARY POWERS WITH REGARD TO SPENDING OF MONEY, MANAGING PROGRAMS, DEVELOPING GUIDELINES AND ENFORCING THE LAW. DECISION MAKING POWERS THAT AFFECT EVERY STREAM OF AMERICAN LIFE INCLUDING THE BLACK COMMUNITY. I PERSONALLY CAN ASSURE YOU THAT THESE INDIVIDUALS HAVE NOT SOLD OUT NOR HAVE THEY ABANDONED THE CAUSE. THEY ARE WORKING "INSIDE" THE SYSTEM AS ^{EFFECT} ~~CATAL~~ ^{OF} ~~CHANGE AGENTS THERE~~ TO DEMONSTRATE NOT ONLY THEIR ABILITY TO ENFORCE THE LAW AND MAKE THE SYSTEM WORK FOR WHITES, BUT CAN MANAGE THEIR AFFAIRS IN SUCH A WAY AS TO INCLUDE BLACKS AND OTHER MINORITIES WITHOUT DESTROYING THE COUNTRY OR THE SYSTEM.



AS YOU STRIVE TO ACHIEVE INCREASED EFFECTIVENESS IN THE POLITICAL ARENA REMEMBER THE CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY, OTHER BUSINESS LEADERS, EDUCATORS AND INDEPENDENT INSTITUTIONS LOOK TO THE GOVERNMENT WITH REFERENCE TO ESTABLISHING POLICIES AT THE NATIONAL, STATE AND LOCAL LEVEL. IN SHORT THE GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHES MONETARY POLICY, HOUSING POLICY, TRANSPORTATION POLICY, ENERGY POLICY, EDUCATION POLICY, TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT POLICY. THEY ARE CARRIED OUT AT THE STATE AND LOCAL LEVELS AND AFFECT INDIVIDUALS, PRIVATE INDUSTRY AND PUBLIC AGENCIES IN GENERAL. THE HEADS OF THESE BUSINESS ORGANIZATION, INSTITUTIONS, INDUSTRIAL CONCERNS, ETC. GIVE AMPLE CONSIDERATION AND DUE REGARD TO THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR SETTING THE POLICIES AND ADMINISTERING PROGRAMS AS WELL AS APPLYING THE RULES AND REGULATIONS. AGAIN, THAT IS WHY I AM COMPELLED TO SAY THAT THE SUCCESS OF MUCH OF WHAT YOU DO HERE AND IN THE FUTURE RESTS ON HOW EFFECTIVE YOU BECOME AS PRACTICING, PRAGMATIC POLITICIANS.

MY FINAL WORD WITH REFERENCE TO POLITICS IS THIS: IT IS MY OPINION THAT THE HEAVY CONCENTRATION OF BLACKS IN ONE PARTY IS NOT GOOD FOR THE COUNTRY, IT WILL NOT PRODUCE GOOD GOVERNMENT, IT IS NOT GOOD FOR EITHER POLITICAL PARTY, NOR IS IT GOOD FOR THE BLACK COMMUNITY, ADD TO THIS THE CURRENT AND FUTURE TRENDS REGARDING THE SHIFTING OF INCREASED RESPONSIBILITIES TO MANAGE PUBLIC AFFAIRS TO THE STATE AND LOCAL LEVEL AND IT APPEARS MORE VITAL THAN EVER THAT BLACKS SHOULD DISPERSE THEMSELVES IN BOTH POLITICAL PARTIES. FOR EXAMPLE, IT IS NOT UNCOMMON TO FIND THE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF ONE POLITICAL PARTY, THE CONGRESS UNDER ANOTHER AND STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT BEING DIVIDED BETWEEN BOTH PARTIES. UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT BOTH PARTIES, NOT JUST THE ONE PARTY, ENJOY THE PARTICIPATION, THE ADVICE, GUIDANCE AND COUNSEL OF SOPHISTICATED BLACK POLITICIANS, PUBLIC ADMINISTRATORS, PROGRAM OFFICERS, ETC. THIS IS ESPECIALLY TRUE IF GOVERNMENT AT ANY LEVEL IS TO WORK FOR ALL THE PEOPLE IN TODAY'S FAST CHANGING ENVIRONMENT.



THUS, I AM NOT GOING TO ATTEMPT TO COVER THE DANGERS NOR THE FALACY OF THIS BECAUSE MOST OF YOU KNOW THEM BETTER THAN I. I AM SIMPLY GOING TO SUGGEST THAT YOU WILL SOON BEGIN TO SEE THE GRAVE ERROR OF THAT WAY, YOU WILL LEARN THAT SUCH HEAVY CONCENTRATION IN ONE PARTY WILL NOT ONLY NOT SERVE YOUR CAUSE BUT IMPEDE PROGRESS DURING THE REST OF THIS AND THE NEXT DECADE. WHEN YOU DO RECOGNIZE THE PROBLEM FOR WHAT IT IS I AM SURE YOU WILL MAKE THE NECESSARY ADJUSTMENT FORTHWITH. AND NOW FOR A FULL DISCUSSION OF FULL EMPLOYMENT AS A NATIONAL GOAL:

FULL EMPLOYMENT AS A NATIONAL GOAL

FIRST I SHOULD EXPLAIN THAT TIME WILL NOT PERMIT ME TO DEVELOP MY THOUGHTS ON THE SUBJECT TO THE EXTENT THAT I WOULD LIKE TO.

HOWEVER, I DO WANT TO SAY THAT UNDER THE CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES, THE SHIFT IN WORLD ECONOMIC POWER IS A MATTER OF CONSIDERABLE CONCERN WHEN ONE IS TALKING ABOUT FULL EMPLOYMENT. TODAY INDUSTRIAL NATIONS ARE DEPENDING ON DEVELOPING AND UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES FOR RAW MATERIALS AS NEVER BEFORE. THE WORKFORCES OF THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES ARE LABOR INTENSE. THUS IN MANY INSTANCES THEIR LEADERS ARE DEMANDING THAT LABOR INTENSE MANUFACTURING AND INDUSTRIAL FACILITIES BE BUILT IN THEIR COUNTRIES. THIS MEANS THAT MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES WITH JOBS REQUIRING LOW ORDER SKILLS WILL BE LOCATED INCREASINGLY IN THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES. IT ALSO MEANS THAT THE WORKERS IN INDUSTRIAL AND SUPER INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES WILL BECOME HIGHLY TECHNICAL IN NATURE.

THEREFORE, WHEN WE TALK ABOUT FULL EMPLOYMENT IN AMERICA DURING THE FINAL QUARTER OF THIS CENTURY, WE ARE TALKING ABOUT FINDING AND OR CREATING JOBS THAT DEMAND SKILLED, TECHNICAL AND PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE.

THIS IS ESPECIALLY TRUE IF AMERICA IS TO REMAIN THE INDUSTRIAL LEADER OF THE WORLD. EARLIER THIS MONTH, WHILE SPEAKING BEFORE THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF BUSINESSMEN, I MENTIONED THERE THAT CERTAIN LABOR ECONOMISTS HAD DECLARED THAT A SKILLED, TECHNICALLY AND PROFESSIONALLY COMPETENT WORKFORCE IS AN INVALUABLE NATIONAL ASSET. I STATED THAT THESE ECONOMISTS STRESSED THE POINT BY SUGGESTING THAT SUCH A WORKFORCE IS THE PRIME INSTRUMENT OF DEFENSE IN ECONOMIC,

POLITICAL OR MILITARY WARFARE.

THIS MEANS THAT DURING THE FINAL QUARTER OF THIS CENTURY, AMERICA WILL HAVE TO DEVELOP THE MOST ABLE AND PRODUCTIVE WORKFORCE THIS COUNTRY HAS EVER PRODUCED. THIS ALSO MEANS THAT WE WILL NEED THE HERETOFORE UN-TAPPED SKILLS, TECHNICAL AND PROFESSIONAL ABILITIES OF ALL AMERICANS OF SOUND BODY AND MIND, WOMEN AND MINORITIES INCLUDED.

THE CURRENT NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION RECOGNIZED THE NEED TO RENEW, EXPAND AND FURTHER DEVELOP THE NATIONS WORKFORCE. THIS IS WHY THE ENFORCEMENT OF EQUAL EMPLOYMENT LEGISLATION HAS BECOME THE THRUST OF OUR CIVIL RIGHTS EFFORT. WE SAW THE NEED TO INSPIRE MINORITIES AND WOMEN TO DEVELOP THEMSELVES TO THE FULLEST. THAT IS WHY THE BUDGETS OF THE OFFICE OF FEDERAL CONTRACT COMPLIANCE AND THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION INCREASED SIGNIFICANTLY DURING THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION. FOR INSTANCE THE BUDGET OF EEOC INCREASED FROM \$11 MILLION IN 1970 TO \$53 MILLION IN FISCAL 1975. THIS IS ALSO WHY IN THE PAST YEAR ALONE, EMPLOYEES HAVE PAID OUT OVER \$500 MILLION FOR HAVING DISCRIMINATED AGAINST MINORITIES AND WOMEN AT THE WORKPLACE. AS A RESULT, TODAY INDUSTRY LEADERS AND ESPECIALLY GOVERNMENT CONTRACTORS ARE AGGRESSIVELY SEEKING AND HIRING SKILLED MINORITIES AND WOMEN. LET ME EMPHASIZE THE WORK "SKILLED". THIS MEANS THAT TRAINING PROGRAMS ARE MORE VITAL THAN EVER - IT ALSO MEANS THAT THE WOULD-BE TRAINEE HAS LOST THE EXCUSE THAT, "WE CAN'T FIND JOBS NOW THAT WE HAVE ACQUIRED THE SKILLS".

BECAUSE OF THIS, THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, OPPORTUNITIES INDUSTRIALIZATION CENTERS AND OTHERS WILL BECOME MORE IMPORTANT THAN EVER. THROUGH YOUR INVOLVEMENT IN TRAINING, JOB PLACEMENT AND YOUR CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH INDUSTRY AND GOVERNMENT YOU HAVE DEVELOPED THE EXPERTISE, THE KNOW-HOW THAT RENDERS YOU AN ESSENTIAL NATIONAL RESOURCE. I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT YOU WILL FULFILL THAT ROLE.

IN MY SPEECH BEFORE THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF BUSINESSMEN, I SAID "THIS NATION HAS RAISED THE LAST GENERATION OF AMERICAN CITIZENS THAT WILL SEE SOME OF ITS MEMBERS DENIED OPPORTUNITY TO FIND AND HOLD DECENT JOBS AND HAVE PRODUCTIVE CAREERS THROUGH NO FAULT OF THEIR OWN. I AM CONVINCED THAT THIS PREDICTION IS CORRECT.

DURING THE PAST FEW MINUTES I HAVE AGAIN TRIED TO STRESS MY BELIEF IN THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THAT STATEMENT.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, THE NATURE OF THE STRUGGLE HAS CHANGED.

MINORITIES AND WOMEN ARE NOT STANDING ON THE OUTSIDE TRYING TO GET CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS ON THE BOOKS. THE LAWS ARE ON THE BOOKS AND SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS ARE NOW ON THE INSIDE HELPING TO ENFORCE THEM. THEIR NUMBERS ARE CERTAIN TO INCREASE IN THE IMMEDIATE AND DISTANT FUTURE.

BY THE MIDDLE OF THE NEXT DECADE, 1985 MUCH OF THE CURRENT NATIONAL LEADERSHIP IN GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS WILL HAVE LEFT THE SCENE. BY THE YEAR 2000 THEY WILL ALL BE GONE.

IN THE MEANTIME, NEW AND DIFFERENT DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL POLICIES WILL HAVE TO BE DEVELOPED AND IMPLEMENTED. OLD LAWS WILL BE RE-WRITTEN OR DISCARDED. THE MISSION OF OLD DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES REDEFINED AND NEW ONES DEVELOPED - UNPROFITABLE INDUSTRIES DISCARDED AND NEW ONES ORGANIZED.

THERE ARE NEW BOOKS TO BE WRITTEN, NEW MEDICINES TO BE DISCOVERED, CITIES TO BE PLANNED, BRIDGES TO BE BUILT, BUILDINGS TO CONSTRUCT, POEMS TO BE WRITTEN, PICTURES TO PAINT, SONGS TO SING AND TRUTHS TO REVEAL - ^{E OF} NON WHICH EXIST TODAY.

THERE IS NOTHING NEW ABOUT THIS. WE RENEW AMERICA EVERY TWENTY FIVE TO FIFTY YEARS. HOWEVER, THIS TIME AMERICA'S MINORITIES AND WOMEN , FOR THE FIRST TIME IN OUR HISTORY, WILL BE FULL AND EQUAL PARTICIPANTS IN THE ENDEAVOR.

THANK YOU FOR INVITING ME AND GOOD LUCK IN YOUR ENDEAVORS.



national urban league

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

August 22, 1974

Mr. Stanley Scott
Special Assistant to the President
Executive Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Stan:

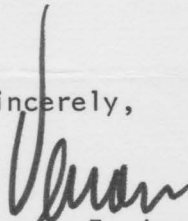
Just a personal note to express my pleasure at seeing you during the National Urban League's 64th Annual Conference in San Francisco.

Your willingness to serve on the dais at a major luncheon meeting is indicative of your continued interest in the aims and purposes of the Urban League, and your commitment to the goal of full employment as a national goal.

Although the tragedy of the sudden loss of Dolph Holmes saddens us deeply, it is comforting to know that we have your cooperation and support in helping to carry out the kinds of programs to which Dolph dedicated his life.

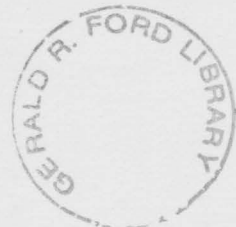
Warm personal regards.

Sincerely,



Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Executive Director

VEJJ:hoj



September 23, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR: WILLIAM SEIDMAN
FROM: STAN SCOTT

Vernon Jordan has been in touch with our office, and we have agreed to meet him at the Northwest Gate and accept his position paper on behalf of President Ford. This paper will be forwarded to the Economic Summit Office for inclusion in our final report.

cc: Robert Hartmann ✓
John Marsh
Ron Nessen

*Why not
invite him
inside!*



THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1974

Black Leaders Open Parley on Impact of Inflation

By WILLIAM E. FARRELL

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 21—

About 60 leaders of black civil rights, church, fraternal and

year, while that of white families "barely kept pace with spiraling inflation."

Black families in the Northeast and the West were "dis-

ics of opening the doors," said Mr. Rangel, one of the five persons who convened the black economic conference. "The sterile way in which the President has called the people to-

"This conference was called," Mr. Wilkins said in an interview, "because the black people of this country are in a submerged position, partly because of their color but mostly

ECONOMIC SESSION CALLED FOR BLACKS

'Counter Summit' to Study
Impact on the Poor

By CHARLAYNE HUNTER

Dissatisfied with the recent series of meetings on the economy sponsored by President Ford, a coalition of national black leaders has called for a "counter summit" this weekend.

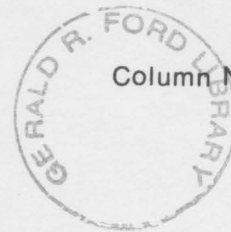
Details of the forthcoming meeting were not available, and the meetings will be closed. But it is expected that discussion papers will be presented recommending credit rationing, wage, price and profit controls, and immediate increased public service employment.

To Be Equal

FORD ASKED TO LEAD ON RIGHTS

by

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.



Column No.

42

Keeping his promise to maintain an open Presidency, Gerald Ford recently hosted a White House meeting of several representatives of national black organizations.

Like similar meetings he's had with us in the past, the President seemed interested in our views and inclined to encourage frank discussion. The acid test will come as he puts his stamp on the new Administration -- we will then see if our concerns will be met by action.

The President took criticism over his intrusion into the Boston busing controversy, and met with strong criticism of domestic anti-inflation policies. Invited by the White House to prepare a position paper for the meeting, I brought along a twenty-one page set of recommendations by the National Urban League for federal action, and the response to that paper may well indicate future Administration policies toward black citizens.

The paper dealt with many of the issues familiar to readers of this column, suggesting a range of federal actions from immediate creation of a million public service jobs to important new initiatives in housing, crime, welfare, education, and other important areas.

But at the head of the list was an appeal to the President to personally give the moral leadership that will assure black Americans of their full partnership in this nation, and will help to guide white citizens along a path of cooperation in our multi-racial society.

Alienation and bitterness are growing these days, bitter weeds that can be traced to past neglect and present economic and social conditions. Where people had great hopes only a few years ago, they now are pessimistic and the very political institutions of the country are in danger of losing their legitimacy.

When Lyndon Johnson stood in the well of the Congress and proclaimed "We Shall Overcome," black people and their white allies were able to feel that their concerns and those of the nation's leadership were one.

...more...

But when the official policy of the Nixon Administration became "benign neglect" characterized by overt hostile acts against black people as a group, the hopes and aspirations of black people were severely damaged.

Now President Ford can restore those hopes. He can, at the earliest opportunity, make a major national address on civil rights, affirming his personal commitment to expanding opportunities for minorities.

He can use the power of the Presidency to tell the nation the facts -- that the long, noble struggle for equal rights and equal opportunities has not yet been won and he can pledge to make his Administration a vehicle for winning that struggle.

Part of assuming this role of moral leadership would be for him to talk sense to the people about issues like crime, welfare, jobs, and other areas. The public mind today is fogged by vicious stereotypes about black people, stereotypes that have no relationship to reality.

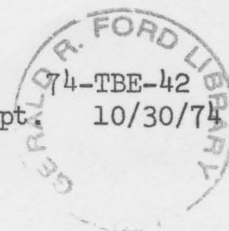
A President can use his unique national platform to talk about the way previously-politicized issues are really problems faced by all people and that blacks have not been dealt with fairly by the nation. He can talk about the welfare system's failures and mention that the majority of people on welfare are white. He can explode myths about crime and race.

He can also help to bring black people back into the government in high, policy-making positions from which they've been barred in the past few years. He can take steps to include blacks, instead of excluding them from participation in our national life.

Many of the concrete recommendations we made for policy changes will undoubtedly run into the stone wall of ideological opposition or budgetary doubts or Congressional indifference. But the moral leadership question that is an inseparable part of the nation's race problems depends on the President alone, and I am hopeful he will accept the challenge to fulfill that vital role.

#

EDITOR'S CONTACT: Daniel S. Davis or Della Mitchell
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE - Communications Dept.
55 East 52nd Street
New York, N.Y. 10022
(212) 751-0300



November 6, 1974

Dear Stan:

I am glad that you will be representing me at the New York Urban League presentation of the Fourth Annual Whitney M. Young, Jr., Memorial Football Classic.

I hope that you will use this opportunity to express my personal good wishes to all who support this worthwhile endeavor. I have great admiration for the efforts of the Urban League and this Classic is typical of the League's constructive projects to bring greater vitality to our communities and well-being to our people.

May it be a successful and memorable event for all who participate.

Sincerely,

Honorable Stanley S. Scott

The White House

GRF:Hasek:sar

CC: D.E. Downton/R. Nessen/P. Theis/S. Scott (file copy)/E. Hasek/CF

Req'd by: Organizjation

Event: November 9, 1974

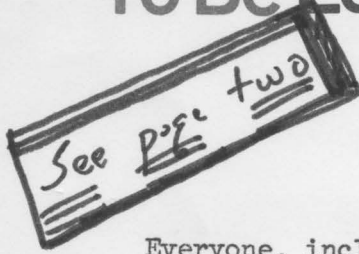


To Be Equal

Column No. 44

MAJOR LESSONS IN ELECTION RESULTS

by
Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.



Everyone, including Republicans, expected a Democratic sweep in the recent elections, and while there were few major surprises, there were plenty of important conclusions to be drawn from the balloting.

The first of these is that the Democratic Party, once it emerges from the euphoria of winning so heavily, must realize that it is on the spot. It can no longer point to the Administration as the prime bearer of responsibility in the country.

The knotty problems of inflation and recession are now Congress' as well, since it has the votes to pass comprehensive legislation dealing with the country's major problems. Democrats who asked for a "veto-proof" Congress now have one, and they will have to forge a positive record of achievement or take the consequences.

A second conclusion is that the Republican Party may actually have been strengthened in the long run by what seems at first to have been a massive defeat.

The liberal wing of the Party was returned to Congress almost without any casualties; the conservative wing was ripped apart. There is a lesson here for both the President and the Republican Party: the way to win future elections is to turn away from the rightward tilt of recent years and to adopt progressive policies more in tune with the needs of our times.

A third election lesson is that black citizens continue to make progress in winning a fairer share of the political power in this nation.

The incumbent black Congressmen were all re-elected and the stunning victory of Harold Ford in winning a conservative-held seat from Memphis, adds another black to the House of Representatives.

Black gains were especially heavy in the South, where more blacks have won office than at any time since Reconstruction days. Three out of four black candidates in the South won legislative offices and there are now 94 blacks sitting in southern state legislatures. In Alabama and in South Carolina, black legislative representation quadrupled.

...more...

A related lesson is that more and more voters are prepared to vote for competence rather than race. Blacks won the lieutenant governorships in Colorado and California, neither having a large state-wide black population. Andrew Young, of Atlanta, won 72 percent of the vote to continue representing a district that is 60 percent white.

But we must not allow ourselves to get carried away by such figures. The fact remains that southern blacks, who are one-fifth of the South's population, now hold less than two percent of the region's 79,000 elective offices.

A final lesson from the elections is that alienation and distrust are still the dominant features of American political life. A mere 38 percent of citizens eligible to register and vote did so. That is less than half the figure for England in its election earlier this year.

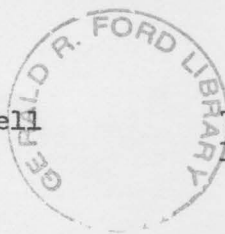
There are two main reasons for this shockingly low turnout. The first is that many people, especially after Watergate, are losing faith in a democratic process that they feel has brought them scandals, inflation and recession, and are expressing their cynicism by not voting.

The other is that state and local election laws throw up roadblocks to those who want to register and vote. A tangle of unnecessary and complicated procedures face citizens trying to exercise their democratic rights, and the pattern of centralized registrars with limited hours of registration appears to be an intentional attempt to keep people from voting.

This argues for extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act and the establishment of some form of permanent personal registration system, such as the proposed postcard registration, to overcome the technical barriers to political participation. And the cynicism of the electorate can only be overcome by the Administration and the Congress getting together to bring the diseased economy back to health, and restoring the integrity of government.

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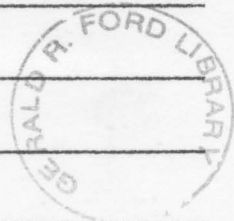
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

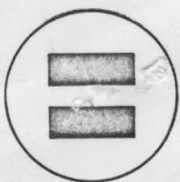
11-18-74
Date

TO: JOHN CALHOUN ☒
HAZEL CORNWELL
PAT HUGHES

FROM: STANLEY SCOTT

ACTION: Respond (acknowledge) on
behalf of Pir. - Will forward
to W/H personnel making
decision in this area...
...etc.





Telephone (212) PLaza 1-0300

National Urban League, Inc.

Building for Equal Opportunity

55 East 52nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10022

November
Fourteenth
1974

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The Honorable Gerald Ford
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

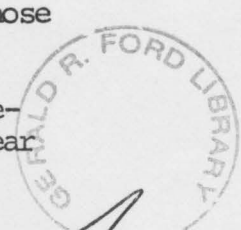
The recently enacted legislation creating the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to oversee the safe development of our nuclear industry gives me a rare, but I hope not presumptuous opportunity to bring to your attention an outstanding candidate to be one of its Commissioners. The National Urban League wholeheartedly endorses Mr. Alexander E. Aikens to become one of the Commissioners of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

I have known Mr. Aikens since he left the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission to return to private industry. When Mr. Aikens resigned from the A.E.C., he was Chief of The Irradiated Fuels Branch, the highest rank held by a black person on the regulatory staff of the Commission. His expertise in the nuclear fuel cycle has been gained during 27 years of operating, designing and regulating the safety of nuclear fuel facilities. Currently Mr. Aikens is associated with an international consulting firm, Dames & Moore. As the Principal in charge of this company's White Plains, New York, office, he specializes in services to the power industry.

By training, experience, dedication and desire Mr. Aikens is one of the most qualified men -- and certainly the most qualified black man -- you could appoint to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. Since he possesses those attributes which you have stated you are seeking for minority appointments to high level decision-making positions, the National Urban League is pleased to recommend his nomination as a Commissioner of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.,
Executive Director.

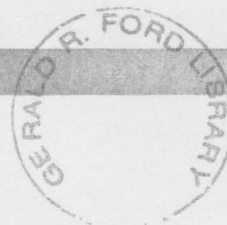


Contributions to the National Urban League are tax deductible



DAMES & MOORE

KEY PERSONNEL



ALEXANDER E. AIKENS, JR. Nuclear Engineering

With more than 25 years' experience in the nuclear engineering field, ALEXANDER E. AIKENS, JR. joined Dames & Moore as an associate.

Mr. Aikens was founder and president of PRS Systems, Inc., an engineering consulting firm specializing in the safety and environmental aspects of low-level and high-level radioactive waste management, nuclear fuel reprocessing, spent fuel transportation, and nuclear plant siting.

As chief of the Irradiated Fuels Branch of the Atomic Energy Commission, he was involved in the formulation of regulatory policy, where he handled all regulatory aspects associated with plants reprocessing irradiated fuel, casks for transporting large quantities of radioactive materials, and hot cell facilities. He was the United States Representative to the IAEA during formulation of the international regulations governing the shipment of large radioactive sources, and was a consultant to Euratom during the safety review of the Eurochemique reprocessing plant at Mol.

Industrial experience was gained as vice-president of Capintec, where Mr. Aikens was responsible for overall technical direction of the company including the engineering of the proposed Surfside project and as engineering supervisor with the Budd Company, responsible for design of equipment and systems utilizing radioisotopes. At Catalytic Construction Company he served as assistant project manager responsible for engineering design of the Puerto Rico Nuclear Center and in numerous project positions was associated with the Atomic Energy Commission's Feed Material Production Center at Fernald, Ohio. His first research position was at Argonne National Laboratory, where he was responsible for development of chemical separation and radioactive waste disposal processes.

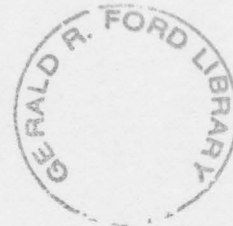
He received a Bachelor of Science degree in chemical engineering from Northeastern University and has completed some graduate work at Boston University and the Illinois Institute of Technology. He is a member of the American Nuclear Society, the Committee on International Nuclear Standards (COINS), and the N-14 Committee of the American National Standards Institute.

Mr. Aikens has appeared as an expert witness at public hearings of Atomic Safety & Licensing Boards and made frequent presentations before the Advisory Committee on Reactor Safeguards.

He has written numerous reports, analyses and papers on various aspects of transporting nuclear materials, handling of low-level and high-level radioactive waste and reprocessing of spent fuel.

♦ ♦ ♦

Address by
VERNON E. JORDAN, Jr.
Executive Director
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
at
NUL EQUAL OPPORTUNITY DAY Dinner
The New York Hilton Hotel
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1974



We meet at a time of grave crisis for our country. It is in a crisis of legitimacy, in which the private and public institutional life of the nation has been called into doubt.

The free institutions of self-government themselves, have been cast in a shadow. The Presidency has been devalued by the crimes of the previous Administration, and the failure of the Congress to rise above provincial interests has resulted in a profound distrust of that institution, as well.

The list of professions and institutions viewed with suspicion by the public could be extended indefinitely. Opinion polls consistently show a growing cynicism and restlessness on the part of people who feel their rights have been trampled on, their hard-won gains eroded, and their futures endangered.

The worsening economic crisis has encouraged this mood. People who are losing their jobs or having difficulty buying the essentials of life are in no mood to wear WIN buttons they can't eat, or to respect established professions and institutions that appear to exploit them.



- 2 -

This growing, as yet unfocused discontent, represents a crisis of legitimacy for free institutions. A society that aspires to be free and representative relies on the implicit approval of its people and on their faith in its institutions.

If those moral underpinnings of institutional life are damaged, then the delicate fabric of the society and its claim to legitimacy, are in danger of becoming unravelled.

So the fundamental problem this nation faces today is not the technical problem of halting inflation, ending recession, curbing pollution, or any of a number of other important issues. The fundamental problem is the moral one of restoring faith in self-government and democratic institutions.

In a sense, this statement of the problem is a throwback to the message of the civil rights movement of the 1960s, a movement that unfurled the banner of equality and pointed out the contradiction between the nation's actions and its values. The ultimate message of the civil rights movement was that unless the nation eliminated racial discrimination and created an open, pluralistic, integrated society, the very existence of democracy would be endangered.

That has now come to pass.

From a wrecked economy, Watergate, an energy crisis, stagflation, and now, worldwide famine, there emerges a picture of a world so complex, so beset by overwhelming problems, so apparently unmanageable, that many ordinary citizens take refuge in privatism and social irresponsibility.

Bleak as this picture may be, there are grounds for hope. The pendulum of history often swings contrary to our hopes and aspirations and, just as often, swings back again. This nation suffered a similar crisis of legitimacy during the Depression, when its institutions had so obviously failed, and its future looked grim.

In the darkest of those days Walter Lippmann wrote that Americans "are looking for leaders who will talk to the people ... about their duty, and about the sacrifices they must make, and about the discipline they must impose upon themselves, and about their responsibility to the world and to posterity, about all the things which make a people self-respecting, serene and confident."

America found that kind of leadership, conquered the Depression, won the war that followed, and built the most productive, most affluent society known to man. Now that society is once again in trouble.

Once again, it is faced with a problem that, reduced to its essentials, is a problem of leadership. A nation of more than 230 million people must find its way through the medium of a leadership that articulates its goals, its policies, and above all, its moral values.

A nation enmeshed in the thicket of self-doubt and confusion can be led back to the high road of prosperity and equality only if its leaders can rise above the contending clash of expedient policies to recapture the fundamental principles of the society.

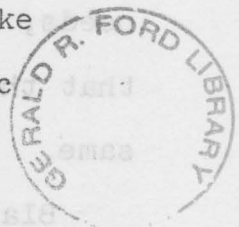
What does this mean in concrete terms? It means that it is the function of leadership -- political, private and public -- to educate

the public to the need for change. It means that leadership must devise policies responsive to the needs of the people and consistent with the goals of democracy.

I believe this month's election results reflect the desire for such leadership. The electorate sent its leaders a message, a message that says: stop inflation, create jobs, end the recession. It was a message that united blacks and whites, if only in the privacy of the polling booths, in support for liberal candidates and a rejection of conservative ones. It was a message that says a political leadership should stop its manipulation of socially explosive issues and provide the economic stability and prosperity that can heal the fissures in our society.

It is a message that should be heeded by the Congress. Democrats who asked for a "veto-proof Congress" now have one, and with it comes the responsibility for a Congress that is not only veto-proof, but also responsible and forward-looking. And Republicans concerned for the fate of their party should take note of the fact that its liberal wing bucked the Democratic trend to win re-election, while its conservative ranks were decimated by the voters.

But important as Congress is, Americans have always looked to their President for national leadership. Mr. Ford has come a long way from Grand Rapids, but the country is wondering whether he's come far enough. He has talked of his admiration for another Middle American who emerged from Congressional obscurity to have national leadership thrust upon him -- Harry Truman. Truman, the man



from Missouri, fought for civil rights and even split his party rather than knuckle under to the segregationists.

I hope Mr. Ford's admiration for Truman will extend to his assumption of that kind of leadership, to boldly stake out a position that represents the needs of the nation as a whole rather than the narrow, provincialism of a part of it.

Certainly, his action in Boston's racial confrontations was not in the Truman tradition. I wish he had heard what was said to me by a white student in Greenville, South Carolina last week.

"Mr. Jordan," she said, "if we can integrate our schools down here, why can't they do it in Boston?"

And the answer to that has to be -- they can do it in Boston too, if the leadership of this nation, starting with the President himself insists on it. We look to the President to heal our nation, not to divide it further. Especially after his meeting with black leadership last month, Mr. Ford now has a better feel for our concerns and our needs, but he also should understand a basic fact of American life -- that the fundamental needs of most blacks and most whites are the same.

Blacks and whites need jobs. Blacks and whites need an end to inflation. Blacks and whites need policies that recover human dignity and confidence in leadership. Blacks and whites have been set against each other because of a political economy based on scarcity, a system that seems rigged to make justice for one a loss for another.

Throwing rocks at school buses won't solve the problems of poor whites, and it is up to Presidential leadership to make them understand that. This leadership role is too crucial to the future of America to be lost in the self-defeating manipulation of symbols that has helped to bring us to the present crisis of institutional legitimacy.

A leadership trapped in expediency and a nation trapped in anti-social privatism need to recapture the moral fervor and spiritual nobility of a cause that transcends political gain or selfish interests.

That cause, I submit, is the cause of greater equality for America's neglected minorities.

We believe that the crisis of legitimacy that infects our national life can only be resolved by a national effort directed at creating a more open, more equal society.

We believe that the failures of policies devoted to piecemeal attacks on specific problems is rooted in the lack of an idealistic, overriding framework into which policies can be integrated.

We believe that it is the function of leadership to construct such a framework, to provide the visions and ideals that will engage our society.

We believe the goal of an open, pluralistic, integrated society can inspire the nation to new heights. We believe that Mr. Ford, as President of all the people, as custodian of America's political leadership, has the duty and the responsibility to place his person and his office at the service of that goal. If he chooses to do so,



he will fulfill the rendezvous with destiny that is the hallmark of great leadership.

And we believe in America. We believe in America's infinite capacity to change, to reassert its hallowed values of justice and equality for all, to respond to the visions of a braver, bolder future. We believe -- based on history and on the ultimate faith in the decency and common sense of the people -- that America can respond to enlightened, idealistic leadership.

And so we call on the President tonight, to start a national movement of racial reconciliation, to start talking sense to the American people, to start telling them the truth about the need for change and the need for greater strides toward racial equality. We call on the President, not to take the low road of consensus politics that helps the strong and harms the weak, but to exercise true leadership that will take us along the high road of greater equality.

It has been too long since we heard a President declare his fundamental belief in equality. It has been too long since a President promised that "We Shall Overcome." It has been too long since a President attempted to harness the innate goodwill and good sense of the American people to the one cause capable of tapping the rich vein of idealism in our heritage.

When the day comes that the President, on a major, national forum, issues forth a ringing reaffirmation of his belief in an open, integrated, pluralistic society, we will know that our

leadership is ready to bring us out of the wilderness of self-doubt and confusion.

Let us recall the words of the old Church song: "Lead me, guide me, show me the way; If you lead me I shall not stray." So we look to national leadership and to the President to lead the nation, to guide it, and we believe that once on the road to justice and equality, the American people shall not stray from the righteous path.

In these troubled times, the people are looking for leadership to help them recover confidence and to bring out the best that is within us. We know we cannot pin all of our hopes and aspirations on a man or a handful of men designated as leaders. They are important because they can help show the way; they can marshal support, they can make decisions and persuade doubters. But in the end, it is up to each one of us to keep alight the flame of equality, to shelter the age-old notion of equal rights and equal responsibilities.

We must recall the words of Herman Melville, who wrote:

"We cannot live for ourselves alone. Our lives are connected by a thousand invisible threads, and along these sympathetic fibers, our actions run as causes and return to us as results."

America is approaching a dark midnight. Everyone is hurting now -- whites and blacks, businessmen and consumers, management and labor, the public and private sectors. We are all linked in an inter-dependent society that's in deep trouble. We are all in this together,



and if we are to come out of it together we will have to join forces and help to build a better America.

If we are to save our nation, uphold our fundamental beliefs, fulfill our deepest aspirations, then we must make our lives and our actions vibrate to our noblest dreams and bring them to fruition. We cannot give equality lip service alone, nor can we allow baser visions to obscure that more equal society toward which we strive.

The Bible tells us that to everything there is a season, for everything a time. There is too, the urgency of the moment, the need to seize the time lest it slip from our fingers and we lose the chance.

This then, is the season. This is the time for change. The need is urgent. We must act -- now.

Let us begin!

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

From Jon Hoornstra

FYI



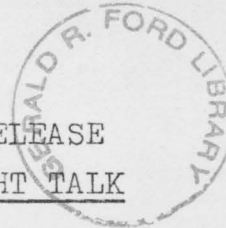


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news

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
WASHINGTON STRAIGHT TALK



For further information, contact Elvera Ruby 484-1500, 265-4344

Attached is a transcript of NPACT's weekly interview program, WASHINGTON STRAIGHT TALK, to be carried by the Public Broadcasting Service at 7:30 p.m. Eastern time November 25, 1974. In Washington, the program will be seen at 8 p.m. on WETA/26. Consult listings in other areas.

GUEST: Vernon Jordan, Executive Director, National Urban League

INTERVIEWER: Jim Lehrer, NPACT Correspondent

FORD: "I think that Mr. Ford's first 100 days have been disappointing to the American people...beginning with the Nixon pardon... I think that he's not giving the impression of having taken over the presidency."

"I have been impressed with the fact that he, on his own initiative, sought the Black Caucus out...We gave him hell about Boston and pointed out that he had failed in terms of moral leadership in that situation..."

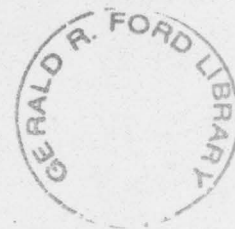
"...while it's clear that the President has to engage in some personal diplomacy...he probably ought to be home minding the store."

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WALLACE:: "I think that the creeping respectability for George Wallace says something about the dearth of national leadership... the notion of George Wallace is just incredible as a viable candidate for the presidency...and to me it verges on the obscene."

KANSAS CITY: "...I think the Democratic Party has got to show the nation in Kansas City that it's responsible...that it's going to be a serious, unified effort to make this party responsive now to the basic needs and aspirations of all of the people." "...under any circumstance, given this opportunity, that it doesn't make sense to walk out, because I'm not sure where your alternatives are if you do in fact walk out. Do you walk out and walk into the Republican Party...?"

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ANNOUNCER: Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Executive Director of the National Urban League. Tonight on Washington Straight Talk, Urban League Director Vernon Jordan is interviewed by NPACT correspondent Jim Lehrer.

JIM LEHRER: With the Democratic mid-term convention coming up in a couple of weeks, Mr. Jordan, and the dropouts of Kennedy and more recently of Mondale, more and more Democratic leaders are saying that George Wallace has a good chance of being on the 1976 Democratic national ticket, and some black officials, particularly in the South, are saying that that would be all right. What do you think about it?

VERNON E. JORDAN, JR: I think it's obscene; I think it's not all right. I think that the creeping respectability of George Wallace says something about the dearth of national leadership; it says something about how far we have gone back, if now in 1974 we're going to start talking about the fellow whose words "Segregation today, tomorrow and forever" still really ring very loud and clear in the hearts and minds of the vast majority of black people in this country.

The attitude of local officials -- primarily Alabama, with one notable exception -- I would assume is based on their own constituency, based on their view of a governor who has power and benefits to distribute. Their decision is their province, and their conscience is something that they will have to deal with with their own constituencies. But from where I sit and given my involvement across the nation, the notion of George Wallace is just incredible as a viable candidate for the presidency of the United States, and it disturbs me no end that responsible people in the press, in the Democratic Party, and in other elements of the society are really taking seriously, almost psychologically preparing themselves for a George Wallace candidacy. And to me it verges on the obscene.

LEHRER: What's brought this on, this creeping respectability, as you say?

JORDAN: Well, I think that there is an overestimation of the George Wallace base. I think that there is an unfounded circumstance based on what happened in the 1972 elections, how well he did in Michigan and North Carolina and Florida. I do not really believe that Mr. Wallace can emerge as a national candidate to get the Democratic nomination, because in order to do that, he's going to have to leave that hardcore group

that he has, and I do not believe that ultimately, that he can muster that kind of support, and I certainly hope not.

I really hope that this country has not come to the point that he really will be seriously considered as a presidential candidate.

LEHRER: Well, with Kennedy out and now with Mondale in the last several days, that leaves Jackson, Bentsen, Udall and Wallace. Where does that leave you all?

JORDAN: Well, I think it probably leaves us in the lurch in that I'm not terribly impressed with most of the names that you mentioned, and obviously I'm not impressed at all with the name of Mr. Wallace.

It's regrettable that Senator Mondale here of late has taken himself out of the race. If he does not have the guts to do it and to see it through, he's probably done the country a great service.

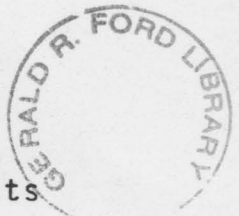
LEHRER: You know, they say that '76 is going to be a brokered convention, that nobody is probably going to win it hand-down on the primary route, as has happened in the past. Should there be a national strategy, or is there already a national strategy to make sure that black interests are properly brokered at this convention?

JORDAN: I do not see yet evolving a planned national strategy, and my view is that planned national strategy has to come from the new black elected officials in this country. By new I mean that if you look at leadership groups in the black community now compared to ten years ago, there's a very definite new leadership group that is represented by the black elected official. And it's my view that those black elected officials, who have constituencies, who are active party workers, that they have to make that basic strategy decision as they relate to their party, whether it's the Democratic Party or the Republican Party. And certainly agencies like the National Urban League will not be involved directly, because of our 501C3 status and our nonprofit tax-exempt status, will not be involved in the formulation, as I think we should not be, and I'm prepared to leave those decisions to the mayors and to the black congressmen and to the two new black lieutenant governors and to the state legislators and city councilmen across the country, because I think that that is their turf.

Now, I reserve the right...

LEHRER: Obviously you have a stake in it.

JORDAN: There's no question but that I have a stake in it. There's no question but that at some point all



of us will have to be involved in it. But I think that in the initial stages, as the black Democrats look toward Kansas City, as they look toward the '76 conventions, that that basic politically [sic] strategy has to evolve and ought to evolve and ought to have its beginnings with those in the black community who have the particular responsibility of politics.

LEHRER: Well, let's talk for a minute about Kansas City in a couple of weeks, the mini mid-term convention of the Democrats. It's already being said that there's a very good possibility that there could be tremendous disruptions and walkouts having to do with quotas and delegates, eventually delegates, to the '76 convention. What's your view of this convention and what it ought to accomplish?

JORDAN: Well, you know, I'm sort of a non-practicing political scientist, just based on my interest in politics. Just by way of analysis, it seems to me that the Democrats ought to go to Kansas City with some sense of unity, and come out of Kansas City with some sense of unity.

Given the nature of the November elections, given the lack of leadership and inability, it seems, of President Ford to take hold of his government and his presidency, in view of the fantastic Democratic landslide, I think the Democratic Party has got to show the nation in Kansas City that it's responsible, that it's really concerned about the problems of inflation and recession and unemployment, and that it's going to be a serious, unified effort to make this party responsive now to the basic needs and aspirations of all of the people.

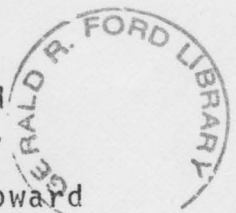
As a politician -- if I were in Bob Strauss's situation, I would be...

LEHRER: Head of the Democratic Party.

JORDAN: Head of the Democratic Party -- I would be working like mad to seize an opportunity here for unity.

I guess if I were an elected official looking toward 1976 and to an opportunity to take over the Executive Branch of the government in 1976, I'd be very interested in showing the country a path to overcoming the problems that we have, and I think that I would probably minimize, to the extent that that is possible, factional fights and divisions or divisive efforts that is going to leave the party in disarray after the December meeting.

LEHRER: If a black delegate to that mini-convention were to ask you for advice on what he ought to do -- say, one of these elected officials, elected mayors, and they're the ones who are considered to be the ones who are liable



to walk out of there -- would you give him that kind of advice?

JORDAN: Well, I think under any circumstance, given this opportunity, that it doesn't make sense to walk out, because I'm not sure where your alternatives are if you do in fact walk out. Do you walk out and walk into the Republican Party, which I'm not sure has any great welcome sign for blacks?

But here again, I think that that is a basic strategy that I cannot determine. I am interested in blacks being involved in both parties. I am interested in their being involved in the basic machinations of public policy decision-making, the smoke-filled-room kind of decisions. And to the extent that that is not possible, it is clear that they have no choice. But also it seems to me that things can be arranged and worked out in such a way that everybody can have a piece of the action.

LEHRER: All right, let's talk about President Ford and his party, the Republican Party. First of all, what do you think of President Ford and his presidency thus far?

JORDAN: Well, I think that Mr. Ford's first 100 days have been disappointing to the American people. I think that most Americans feel that Mr. Ford has come a long way from Grand Rapids, but I think they probably think that he's not come far enough. I think that there is a great disappointment, and beginning with the Nixon pardon, which seemed to have begun a downhill road for the President, I think that he's not giving the impression of having taken over the presidency. He's not moved anywhere significantly to replace anybody except John Sawhill at the Energy Commission, and his replacement for him seemed to have been based...

LEHRER: Didn't last long.

JORDAN: ...on bad advice. And I think what we've had historically in this country is a people looking to the President for leadership. Not so much to the Congress, but to the President, that he is the custodian of America's political leadership and he represents all of the people. And I think that the President has not demonstrated that he is in charge, that he's taken over. He's still surrounded, almost totally, by holdovers from the Nixon Administration, and that seems to be part of a compassion that is probably very honest, but I'm not sure it's good in terms of demonstrating to the nation that he's going to be in charge of himself and he's going to determine the destiny of this Administration, but more importantly, that he's going to be responsive to the needs of the country, to the needs of the people.

Now if I might be a little bit more specific on that issue, I have been impressed with the fact that he, on



his own initiative, for example, sought the Black Caucus out. He called Charlie Rangel, Chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, and said, "Let's have a meeting." And that's interesting because with Mr. Nixon it took the Black Caucus almost two-and-a-half years, or better, to get a meeting. So he extended the hand and he opened his door. That's interesting.

He's also met with...

LEHRER: You met with him recently.

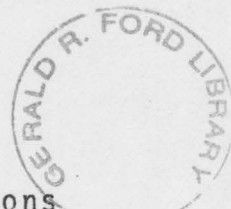
JORDAN: Yes. Eight of us, representing a cross-section of civil rights organizations in the country, had what I think was a very positive meeting. We gave him hell about Boston and pointed out that he had failed in terms of moral leadership in that situation and that his statement in fact encouraged, we believe, the kind of violence and violation of the law that we see now in South Boston, and that we've seen.

But what was impressive is that, number one, he wanted to talk and he listened. Now, whether or not his listening will ultimately translate itself into action is an iffy proposition.

But the other aspect of that is that President Ford has started a process that we've not been accustomed to, that we got unaccustomed to beginning in 1968. Prior to that, with Presidents Johnson and Presidents Kennedy, black leadership an accessibility to the White House, accessibility not necessarily meaning consensus or agreement, but a place where they could go and lay the burdens and needs and aspirations and rage of black people right there on the lap of the President, and the President could in fact respond. And I'm encouraged and somewhat hopeful that, based on the bit of education that we were able to give the President about his role as the leader of this nation on a very basic issue, and that is of equal opportunity and equal rights, equal responsibilities in this society, that maybe we're going to get a different kind of attitude, a different kind of leadership than we've been accustomed to for the last five-and-a-half years.

We presented him a black economic position paper. Each of us -- Jesse Jackson Of PUSH, Clarence Mitchell of NAACP, Bayard Rustin of A. Philip Randolph Institute, Leon Sullivan from OIC, Carlton Goodrich (?) from the National Newspaper Publishers Association, Pauline Ellison from the LINKS (?), and Dorothy Heit (?) from the National Council of Negro Women -- that was the representation, including myself. And each of us presented the President with our own views of what his leadership from the Executive Office ought to be. And interestingly, we've had a promise from the President of response. And I think...

LEHRER: What do you mean "a response"?



JORDAN: Well, a response to the particular positions that we took on the situation in this country as it relates to black people. When and where and how that response is going to come, I don't know. But we've had a commitment from him of response.

We asked the President for one other thing that I think is terribly, terribly important to his leadership and crucially important to the country, and that is, we asked the President for a ringing reaffirmation of the notion of fairness and equality and justice in this country as it relates to black Americans. It's really been too long now since we've had a President of the United States to proclaim his belief in equality. It's been too long since we've had a President to stand in the well of the Congress and say "We shall overcome." It's been too long since we've had a President to really embrace the concept of equality of opportunity as being for him.

LEHRER: Do you think he's going to do that?

JORDAN: Well, I don't know. He didn't say yes; he didn't say no.

LEHRER: But he hasn't done it since you met with him.

JORDAN: He hasn't done it. He's unfortunately doing some other things, like traveling and...

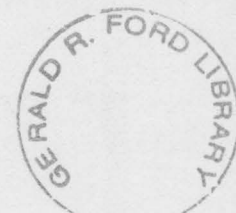
LEHRER: Does that bug you? Did...

JORDAN: Yeah, it does. The political trail -- it seems to me not to have been astute, in view of what was obviously coming down. And it seems to me that the President had a great opportunity to say, "We've got great problems and I'm going to stay here and I'm going to be your President; I'm going to deal with these problems."

My feeling, and based on what people say as I move around the country, that while it's clear that the President has to engage in some personal diplomacy, that given the price of food and given the tremendous unemployment situation, a coal strike, a bus strike, layoffs and furloughs all over the country, that he probably ought to be home minding the store.

LEHRER: Let's talk about some of these specific issues. Inflation, for one. I'm sure that you talked to the President about this. And it's your position, is it not, that inflation brings special problems for black people? What are these special problems and what special remedies do you think should be enacted to take care of them?

JORDAN: Well, first of all, the very nature of



our historic presence in this country suggests to me that whenever America has a special problem, that blacks bear a disproportionate burden of that problem. And when I say historic circumstance, I'm talking about the pervasive segregation, discrimination, exclusion, lack of training, lack of attention that has been our historic lot. It really surfaces in very hard times. Clearly, in a time of high unemployment, because we are, in one sense, the newest people in the new job areas, because we're historically the first fired and the last hired, when the crunch comes and when the furloughs start, we're the first to go.

One very significant aspect of all of this, as you look at the country's economy over the last year, is that what we're seeing now is not the teenage black child or the black woman being cut out of the job market, but we're seeing the adult black male breadwinner getting it right in the back, because he's the guy that's on the assembly plants at Chrysler and at GM and he's the guy in various industries across the country who's a breadwinner who's now being laid off. In the energy crisis, we can find 16,000 adult male breadwinners who were put out of work. And there are also figures that we have at the National Urban League which show a decline in the percentages of unemployment as it relates to the adult male breadwinner. He's the guy that's got kids in college; he's the guy that's got a house note, a car note; he's got responsibilities, and he's out of work. And that, I think, begins to show the very serious aspect of it.

Now, the other aspect is this, is that the one thing that poor people do with their money is to buy something to eat -- food, bread and meat -- and that is probably the highest commodity around now. That's probably where we see the greatest increase or inflationary pressure here. So, that which is basic to his survival, his existence, food, is that which costs most. The substitute foods that he's already been accustomed to getting are higher now than ever before, so he's at the point of survival.

I also think -- if I can phrase it -- that people never understand in this country that when white America catches a cold, black people catch pneumonia, and that goes to our historic circumstance, to our marginal place in the economy, to our sort of temporary role in a thriving economy. And when that economy ceases to thrive, then we tend not to do terribly well.

The remedy, however, is not, I believe, a special remedy for blacks. I think the remedy lies in a national goal of full employment. I think the remedy lies in looking at public service across the board. I think the remedy lies in...

LEHRER: Public service employment, you mean?



JORDAN: Public service employment. I think...

LEHRER: But does that really -- excuse me. Does that really solve anything, that kind of just make-work...

JORDAN: I'm not talking about make-work. Just think about the number of library closings. Just think about the amount of slum clearance that needs to be done in this country. Just think about the number of people that could be very helpful in the health care industry, which is the fastest growing industry in this country. Just think of what can be done to clean up our cities. So I don't see it as make-work. There's just an awful lot of things -- look at our transportation system, for example. There just seems to me to be any number of areas where we don't have to create make-work for people, but that we can, given the kind of government support and government commitment to the concept of full employment, that we can get at it.

Now, what is interesting here in terms of the solution is that the kind of problems that we are dealing with, whether it's unemployment, whether it's inflation, whether it's low interest rates, these problems transcend race. I mean black people are not the only ones hurting in this process. Blacks and whites need jobs. Blacks and whites need lower interest rates. Blacks and whites need, you know, lower prices on food and other commodities. So that the issue, as I think we look at the civil rights issue in the 1970s, the issues do in fact transcend race. You cannot talk about welfare reform in this country and just talk about black people, given the fact that the vast majority of people in this country on welfare are not black but are white. You cannot talk...

LEHRER: Most people don't know that.

JORDAN: And few want to admit it. But if you look at public service jobs or if you look at the 235/236 housing program or any of the manpower training programs, two-thirds of the beneficiaries of those programs are not black people but white people. So that if you're going to talk about national health insurance, you just can't talk about blacks. You have to talk about whites.

So I'm suggesting that if we look at people needs in this country and if the Congress and the Executive Branch of our government begin to address themselves to people needs, that in the process, given the kinds of legislation, the kinds of court orders, the kinds of executive orders and administrative orders that we got in the 1960s, you cannot now do these things in the 1970s, as you did in 19 -- by excluding blacks. We get a piece of the action.

LEHRER: You mentioned the term "the civil rights



issues of the 1970s." Is the civil rights movement still alive? A lot of people think it's dead. Is it?

JORDAN: Well, you know, if you had to depend on the media, the American press, as an assessment of whehter it's alive or dead, then it's dead. And the problem is this: If Roy Wilkins or Jesse Jackson or Leon Sullivan...

LEHRER: Vernon Jordan.

JORDAN: ...or Vernon Jordan or Ralph Abernathy are not talking about marching in the streets and we're not talking about massive civil disobedience, then the press is not interested. But when we are talking about a surtax on the upper incomes and a tax on excess corporate profits, we can't get a line in the Washington Post, hardly, or the New York Times or on the NBC, CBS or ABC news shows, because maybe that is something that black people -- maybe we ought not to be talking about that. Maybe that is something where we have no expertise. And so as we move into very substantive issues that are not dealing so much with whether or not blacks are going to drink white water or colored water, they're going to sit in the front of the bus or the back bus, and as we start dealing with welfare reform and national health insurance or the concept of full employment or underemployment and as we talk about compnesatory education programs or monies for black colleges, that seems not to excite the press, as we did with survival issues of 25 million black Americans.

So that, the civil rights movement, in my view, is very much alive and it's vibrant and it's moving. And black people's fervor is no less than it was 10 years ago. It is, however, tempered by the nature of the issues. When we had in Washington the week before the conference on inflation the black economic summit conference, with a full-fledged press conference and we announced a black economic position paper, but the media here in Washington buried it. The same thing was true in the other great news centers of this country. Consequently, we had to -- the civil rights movement -- scramble our efforts to take out a full-page ad in some of the very papers that would not see it as news.

LEHRER: People just don't care anymore? Or what's the problem?

JORDAN: I think there is an insensitivity to the new kinds of problems and the new kinds of tactics and strategies that we find necessary for this particular era, given the nature of the issues. But beyond that, I think that because of the kind of national leadership, because the concept of benign neglect has really taken hold in American society, that the press is no less reflective of that. And therefore, the kind of concerns and the kind of way that it helped to



surface those fantastically traumatic and dramatic issues, they don't see that. And it's dramatic, it seems to me now, when unemployment in the ghetto for teenagers is 36%. That's dramatic. It's dramatic when the unemployment rate for blacks is double that for whites. That's dramatic, it seems to me. But that seems to be of no interest now.

LEHRER: You've just got to get the message over.

Mr. Jordan, thank you very much.

ANNOUNCER: Washington Straight Talk. From Washington, NPACT has brought you the Executive Director of the National Urban League, Vernon Jordan, with NPACT correspondent Jim Lehrer.

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